

Message Text

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PAGE 01 BUCCHAR 05470 01 OF 03 041548Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00
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INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
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AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 BUCHAREST 5470

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PEPR, PINT, RO
SUBJECT: MAJOR CEAUSESCU SPEECH ON INTER-PARTY RELATIONS
AND OTHER SUBJECTS

1. SUMMARY. IN TWO AND A HALF HOUR SPEECH AUGUST 3 TO
PARTY/GOVERNMENT LEADERS CONVENED ON HIS OWN INITIATIVE,
CEAUSESCU OUTLINED ROMANIAN POLICY IN NUMBER OF KEY AREAS
AS RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS RAISED BY PARTY LOYALISTS. SPEECH
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PAGE 02 BUCCHAR 05470 01 OF 03 041548Z

IS REMARKABLY CANDID AND OUTSPOKEN AND CONTAINS A NUMBER
OF NEW FORMULATIONS, MOST OF WHICH SOVIETS WILL FIND ANNOY-
ING TO OFFENSIVE. CEAUSESCU DEPLORED MILITARY AND ECONOMIC
MEANS TO CREATE "SPHERES OF INFLUENCE"; ARGUED THAT
ECONOMIC SELF-SUFFICIENCY OF COMMUNIST COUNTRIES
IS "UNREALISTIC" AS SHOWN BY FAILURE TO PRODUCE SUFFICIENT
FOODSTUFFS AND CONSUMER GOODS FOR INTERNAL NEEDS; DECRIED

CONFLICTS AMONG COMMUNIST STATES; VOWED TO CONTINUE ROMANIA'S GOOD RELATIONS WITH ALL TO DETRIMENT OF NONE; ANNOUNCED HUA KUA-FENG VISIT HERE; PROMISED EVEN GREATER ROMANIAN INVOLVEMENT WITH AND ASSISTANCE TO NON-ALIGNED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES; URGED MBFR TALKS TO PRODUCE A CONCRETE AGREEMENT; CALLED ON ALL COMMUNIST COUNTRIES AND PARTIES TO BECOME ACTIVELY INVOLVED IN CREATION OF A NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER AND STRUGGLE TO ELIMINATE UNDERDEVELOPMENT; URGED RAPID CONCLUSION OF A SALT AGREEMENT; REAFFIRMED ROMANIA'S SUPPORT EUROCOMMUNIST PARTIES; ARGUED THAT SUCH PARTY LABELS AS "MARXIST-LENINIST" ARE IRRELEVANT TO CONTENT AND APPLICATION OF "SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM" AND SHOULD NOT THEREFORE BE A POINT OF CONTENTION IF A PARTY DROPS THE TERM; REITERATED ROMANIAN INTERPREATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS; ISSUED ACROSS THE BOARD CONDEMNATION OF TERRORISM IN ALL FORMS FOR ANY REASON; ATTACKED "ELITIST AND REACTIONARY" RELIGIOUS AND ART FORMS; AND FLOATED IDEA OF POSSIBLE PERIODIC MEETINGS OF EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES ALONG LINES OF SESSIONS HELD BY SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL. OUR FIRST IMPRESSION IS THAT CEAUSESCU FELT IT WAS USEFUL TO STATE ROMANIAN POSITIONS PUBLICALLY BEFORE HIS IMMINENT TALKS WITH BREZHNEV IN CRIMEA AND HUA HERE SO AS TO MINIMIZE ANY MISUNDERSTANDINGS AND TO HAVE A PUBLIC RECORD TO REFUTE ANY ALLEGATIONS THAT ROMANIA HAS BEEN PRESSURED INTO ONE OR ANOTHER STANCE. CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 BUCHAR 05470 01 OF 03 041548Z

END SUMMARY.

2. WORLD CONFLICT AND ZONES OF INFLUENCE

RECENTLY THERE HAS BEEN INTENSIFICATION OF EFFORTS TO DIVIDE WORLD INTO SPHERES OF INFLUENCE, A PHENOMENON CLOSELY LINKED TO ECONOMIC, MONETARY, AND ENERGY CRISES; THERE ARE TENDENCIES TO USE MILITARY FORCE OR ECONOMIC PRESSURE. OF THE TWO, MILITARY REPRESENTS GREATEST DANGER TODAY. OPPOSED TO SPHERES OF INFLUENCE IS GROWING DESIRE FOR ANEW POLICY OF INTERNATIONAL COLLABORATION BASED ON PRINCIPLES OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY; "SOCIALIST COUNTRIES MUST SUPPORT THIS POLICY", AND ROMANIA WILL PROCEED ON THIS BASIS. AFTER VIET NAM, UNITED STATES HAS LEARNED THAT IT CANNOT USE MILITARY FORCE TO ACHIEVE ITS ENDS AND HAS TURNED TO ECONOMIC ASPECTS. HOWEVER, OTHER COUNTRIES OF LESSER ECONOMIC STRENGTH CONTINUE TO EMPHASIZE THE MILITARY ROUTE EVEN THOUGH "MILITARY ASSISTANCE" HELPS NEITHER THE RECEIVING NOR THE GIVING COUNTRY AND ONLY SERVES TO AGGRAVATE WORLD TENSIONS.

3. RELATIONS AMONG "SOCIALIST" STATES - ECONOMIC

IT IS UNDENIABLE THAT A SEERIES OF NEGATIVE PHENOMENA

HAVE ARISEN IN THE ECONOMIC-SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE
"SOCIALIST" COUNTRIES. IT IS EVIDENT, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT
AN ANNUAL GROTH RATE OF 4-5 PERCENT IS INSUFFICIENT.
NOR CAN THE "SOCIALIST" COUNTRIES COLLECTIVELY (ALTHOUGH
SOME CAN INDIVIDUALLY) FULFILL THEIR INTERNAL REQUIREMENTS

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PAGE 01 BUCHAR 05470 02 OF 03 041615Z
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 BUCHAREST 5470

FOR AGRICULTURAL FOODSTUFFS OR CONSUMER GOODS. BREZHNEV'S
REPORT ON AGRICULTURE TO RECENT CPSU PLENARY AMPLY ILLUSTRATES
THIS POINT. IN ADDITION, WORLD ECONOMIC CRISIS "DOES NOT
STOP AT BORDERS OF SOCIALST COUNTRIES", ARGUMENT ADVANCED
BY SOME ON AUTONOMY OF SOCIALIST SYSTEM IS "UNREALISTIC"
AND INHIBITS PRACTICAL PROBLEM-SOLVING AS WELL AS WORLD
ECONOMIC COOPERATION. SUPERIORITY OF "SOCIALIST" SYSTEM
MUST BE DEMONSTRATED BY CONCRETE RESULTS, NOT BY RHETORIC.

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PAGE 02 BUCAR 05470 02 OF 03 041615Z

4. RELATIONS AMONG "SOCIALIST" STATES - POLITICAL

LAMENTABLY, THERE DO EXIST PROBLEMS AMONG "SOCILIST" COUNTRIES--CHINA/USSR, KAMPUCHEA/VIET NAM, CHINA/ALBANIA--WHICH SAP STRENGTH AND PRESTIGE OF "SOCIALISM" IN THE WORLD. ALTHOUGH THESE PROBLEMS ARE AFFAIR OF COUNTRIES INVOLVED, ROMANIA REGRETS SITUATION AND BELIEVES ALL SUCH PROBLEMS SHOULD BE DISCUSSED DIRECTLY AND CANDIDLY BY PARTIES TO REESTABLISH NORMAL RELATIONS; PRETENDING THE PROBLEMS DO NOT EXIST WILL NOT RESOLVE THEM. ROMANIA WILL CONTINUE TO MAINTAIN GOOD RELATIONS WITH ALL "SOCIALIST" COUNTRIES AND WILL WORK TO OVERCOME DIVERGENCIES AMONG THEM. RELATIONS WITH SOVIET UNION WILL CONTINUE TO OCCUPY AN EXTREMELY IMPORANT PLACE, AS WELL RELATIONS WITH CHINA. HUA KUO-FENG WILL PAY RETURN VISIT "IN SECOND HALF OF THIS MONTH." ROMANIAN-NORTH KOREAN RELATIONS ARE AN EXAMPLE OF CLOSE COOPERATION BETWEEN TWO "SOCIALIST" SATES. HOWEVER, UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES WILL ROMANIA ATTEMPT TO COUNTER BALANCE ITS RELATIONS WITH CHINA AGAINST THOSE WITH SOVIET UNION, OR VICE VERSA, NOR WILL IT ENGAGE IN POLEMICS AGAINST OTHER FRATERNAL PARTIES. ROMANIA WILL CONTINUE ITS PARTICIPATION IN CEMA AND WARSAW PACT ON BASIS OF EQUALITY, NATIONAL SOVEREGNTY, AND MUTAL ADVANTAGE, AND WILL DEVELOP MILITARY COLLABORATION WITH PRESENT WP MEMBERS WHETHER OR NOT PACT EXISTS.

5. RELATIONS WITH DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

THERE ARE EVIDENT DIFFERENCES AMONG NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES, MOST CLEARLY SEEN AT PRESENT IN AFRICA. ROMANIA WILL DO EVERYTHING IT CAN TO RESOLVE THESE DIFFERENCES AND TO STRENGTHEN UNIT OF NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT. IT WILL CONTINUE TO INTENSIFY ITS ASSISTANCE TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES "IN SPITE OF ARGUMENTS ADVANCED BY SOME COMRADES FROM THE ECONOMIC SECTOR TO RESTRICT SUCH COOPERATION." CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 BUCAR 05470 02 OF 03 041615Z

PRINCIPAL FORM OF ROMANIAN ASSISTANCE WILL CONTINUE TO BE JOINT VENTURES IN INDUSTRY, AGRICULTURE, CONSTRUCTION, AND TRANSPORATION, BRINGING BENEFITS TO BOTH PARTIES. IN ADDITION, ROMANIA WILL CONTINUE TO PROVIDE TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE AND WILL EXPAND THE NUMBER OF STUDENTS FROM DEVELOPING COUNTRIES BEYOND PRESENT 12,000. BECAUSE OF ITS CLOSE LINKS WITH THEM, ROMANIA RECEIVES IN RETURN THE SUPPORT OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. CONSEQUENTLY, ROMANIA WILL CONTINUE TO DEVELOP RELATIONS WITH ALL COUNTRIES

IRRESPECTIVE OF SOCIAL OR POLITICAL SYSTEMS. IN REGARD TO DEVELOPED CAPITALIST COUNTRIES, "IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE TO CONCLUDE THAT THEY CANNOT RESOLVE THEIR OWN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PROBLEMS" IN SPITE OF THEIR PRESENT NEGATIVE SITUATION.

6. EUROPE, BALKANS, MIDDLE EAST, AFRICA, LATIN AMERICA
IMPLEMENTATION OF HELSINKI FINAL ACT PROVISIONS TO DATE HAVE BEEN UNSATISFACTORY, AND ECONOMIC AND OTHER CONTACTS MUST BE INTENSIFIED PRIOR TO MADRID MEETING. MILITARY DISENGAGEMENT MUST RECEIVE PRIORITY ATTENTION. VIENNA MBFR TALKS NOW HAVE A REAL CHANCE OF PRODUCING A CONCRETE AGREEMENT WHICH, IF NOT OF GREAT MILITARY SIGNIFICANCE, WOULD NEITHER ADVERSELY AFFECT SECURITY OF ANY PARTICIPANT BUT WOULD CONSTITUTE A VALUABLE POLITICAL PRECEDENT FOR FUTURE TALKS LEADING TO REAL MILITARY DISENGAGEMENT. ROMANIA FAVORS CREATION OF A ZONE OF PEACE AND UNDERSTANDING IN BALKANS; ROMANIA'S RELATIONS WITH ALL BALKAN STATES ARE CLOSE ALTHOUGH "WE HAVE NO PARTY TO PARTY RELATIONS WITH ALBANIA". ROMANIA ALSO ADVOCATES CLOSER COOPERATION AMONG DANUBIAN STATES, SPECIFICALLY HUNGARY, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, AND AUSTRIA, IN BETTER USE OF THE RIVER. ROMANIA CONTINUES TO BE CONCERNED BY MIDDLE EAST SITUATION AND ISRAELI RIGIDITY. AFRICAN PROBLEMS SHOULD BE RESOLVED BY AFRICANS THEMSELVES WITHOUT ANY OUTSIDE MILITARY OR OTHER INTERVENTION; IT IS AN ERROR TO DIVIDE AFRICA INTO "PROGRESSIVE" AND "NON-PROGRESSIVE" STATES.
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PAGE 04 BUCAR 05470 02 OF 03 041615Z

ROMANIA WILL CONTINUE TO SUPPORT ACTIVELY LIBERATION STRUGGLES IN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA, AS WELL AS EFFORT OF SOUTH AFRICAN PEOPLE TO ABOLISH APARTHEID, AND MAY EVEN DO MORE IN THIS REGARD. RELATIONS WITH LATIN AMERICA SHOULD BE INTENSIFIED.

7. ECONOMIC INTERDEPENDENCE AND A NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER

EFFORTS TO CREATE NIEO TO DATE HAVE PRODUCED FEW RESULTS. SOME SOCIALIST COUNTRIES HAVE REFUSED TO BECOME INVOLVED IN THIS QUESTION, ARGUING IT IS A PROBLEM FOR FORMER COLONIAL POWERS TO RESOLVE; SINCE STRUGGLE TO OVERCOME UNDERDEVELOPMENT IS BUT A CONTINUATION OF ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLE, ALL "SOCIALIST" COUNTRIES AND COMMUNIST PARTIES IN DEVELOPED CAPITALIST COUNTRIES MUST BECOME ACTIVELY ENGAGED IN ELIMINATING UNDERDEVELOPMENT AND CREATING NIEO. ROMANIA ADVOCATES CONVENING A SPECIAL UN SESSION ON SUBJECT, PRECEDED BY PREPARATORY MEETING, ALONG LINES OF SSOD, AND SEES AN INTIMATE LINK BETWEEN NIEO AND CRISIS OF ENERGY AND RAW MATERIALS, MONETARY PROBLEMS, AND PRICES. FURTHER, EFFORTS OF COUNTRIES TO ATTAIN ECONOMIC

AS WELL AS POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE SHOULD ALSO BE SUPPORTED
BY "SOCIALIST" COUNTRIES AS "A CENTRAL INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATION."

8. DISARMAMENT

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PAGE 01 BUCHAR 05470 03 OF 03 041639Z
ACTION EUR-12

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INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00
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AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L FINAL SECTION OF 3 BUCHAREST 5470

RESULTS OF SSOD, ALTHOUGH GENERAL, ARE A GOOD
OMEN AND NEED TO BE PUT INTO PRACTICE. POPULAR DEMAND
FOR EFFECTIVE MEASURES WILL NOT DISAPPEAR WITH END OF
SSOD, HOWEVER. US-USSR SALT TREATY WOULD EXERT "AN
EXTRAORDINARILY POSITIVE" INFLUENCE ON ATMOSPHERE SINCE
PERPETUATION OF ARMS RACE CREATES GREAT DANGERS, "INCLU-
DING FOR THE BUIDLING OF SOCIALISM". SMALL AND MEDIUM-SIZED
STATES MUST PARTICIPATE ACTIVELY IN THIS QUESTION SINCE
THEY ARE THE FIRST VICTIMS OF AGGRESSION AND THE FIRST TO
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PAGE 02 BUCAR 05470 03 OF 03 041639Z

SUFFER FROM POLICIES OF DOMINATION.

9. EUROCOMMUNISM AND MARXISM-LENINISM

BERLIN ECPC CONFERENCE REAFFIRMED INDEPENDENCE OF EACH PARTY, YET INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF ONE PARTY BY ANOTHER STILL EXISTS. EACH PARTY MUST BE FREE TO ESTABLISH ITS OWN POLICIES BASED ON CONDITIONS OF COUNTRY IN WHICH IT OPERATES; THIS DOES NOT IN ANY WAY CONTRADICT NEED TO STRENGTHEN SOLIDARITY AND COOPERATION AMONG PARTIES. RIGHT OF A PARTY TO OPPOSE ANY GIVEN MODEL FOR CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM DOES NOT GIVE IT THE RIGHT TO ATTEMPT TO IMPOSE ITS MODEL ON OTHERS. CONCERNING DECISION OF SOME PARTIES TO DROP TERM "MARXIST-LENINIST", NEITHER MARX NOR LENIN WOULD APPROVE OF NAMING "SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM" AFTER THEM. "SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM" IS NOT A DOCTRINE SET IN STONE FOREVER BUT A CONSTANTLY EVOLVING CONCEPT ADJUSTING ITSELF ON BASIS OF NEW REALITIES. CONSEQUENTLY, NAMES THAT PARTIES CHOOSE TO DESCRIBE THEMSELVES ARE BASICALLY IRRELEVANT; WHAT IS IMPORTANT IS THE CONTENT AND APPLICATION OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM. SOME COMMUNIST PARTIES IN WEST HAVE CRITICIZED EVENTS IN SOME "SOCIALIST COUNTRIES"; WHILE ALL IS OBVIOUSLY NOT PERFECT THERE, INCLUDING ROMANIA, NEVERTHELESS THESE COUNTRIES HAVE GONE FURTHEST IN CREATING A JUST SYSTEM AND IN REMOVING INEQUALITIES. REACTIONARY CIRCLES, FOREIGN ESPIONAGE, AND INTERNAL ENEMIES TRY TO DEFAME THE "SOCIALIST" COUNTRIES; SWEEPING CRITICISMS FROM "SOCIALIST" PARTIES ONLY PROVIDES THEM WITH AMMUNITION AND SERVES NEITHER THE PARTIES' INTERESTS NOR THOSE OF THE COUNTRIES CRITICIZED NOR OF "SOCIALISM" IN GENERAL.

10. HUMAN RIGHTS

TRUE DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS MEANS LIQUIDATION OF

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PAGE 03 BUCAR 05470 03 OF 03 041639Z

EXPLOITATION OF MAN BY MAN AND PROTECTION OF SOCIAL RIGHTS. "SOME" TRY TO DIVERT ATTENTION FROM "THE GRAVE SOCIAL ANOMALIES" OF CAPITALISM BY STRESSING "MARGINAL" OR "FORMAL" ASPECTS; OTHERS ENCOURAGE EMIGRATION AS SOURCE OF CHEAP LABOR.

11. TERRORISM

RCP HAS "ALWAYS" CONDEMNED ANY ACT OF TERRORISM UNDER ANY PRETENSE. WHILE STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION IS JUSTIFIED, "TERRORISM CANNOT CONSTITUTE UNDER ANY CIRCUM-

STANCES A FORM OF POLITICAL STRUGGLE--(NOR CAN) ANY TYPE OF TERRORIST ACTION BE JUSTIFIED OR APPROVED". "WE CONSIDER THAT TERRORIST ACTS, IRRESPECTIVE OF THE PRETEXT UNDER WHICH THEY ARE CARRIED OUT, ARE CONTRARY TO THE CAUSES OF NATIONAL LIBERATION, PROGRESS, AND SOCIAL RIGHTS." TERRORIST GROUPS OF BOTH THE EXTREME LEFT AND EXTREME RIGHT EXIST, AND UNFORTUNATELY SOME EVEN ENJOY THE SUPPORT OF COMMUNIST PARTIES.

12. ART AND RELIGION

MASSES MUST DETERMINE ARTISTIC THEMES AND APPRECIATE TRUE SOCIALIST HUMANISM, AND NOT BE MISLED BY USE OF "MYSTICAL AND OBSCURANTIST" THEORIES BY REACTIONARY CIRCLES. COMMUNIST PARTIES MUST BE MORE ACTIVE IN EXPLAINING THEIR POSITIONS AND NOT BE ON THE DEFENSIVE. "I HAVE DISCUSSED THIS SUBJECT WITH LEADERS OF WESTERN PARTIES AND WE THINK IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO ORGANIZE SEMINARS AND SYMPOSIA TO DEBATE AND CLARIFY THESE QUESTIONS." HENCEFORTH, "HYMN TO ROMANIA" FESTIVAL WHICH HAS SOMEWHAT DEGENERATED INTO A MERELY ARTISTIC EVENT WILL ALSO BE USED TO STRENGTHEN IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE.

13. COMMUNIST CONFERENCES

A WORLDWIDE COMMUNIST CONFERENCE IS NOW IMPOSSIBLE TO HOLD, BUT EUROPEAN ONES SHOULD NOT BE EXCLUDED, PERHAPS THROUGH PERIODICAL MEETING SUCH AS SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 04 BUCAR 05470 03 OF 03 041639Z

HOLDS.

14. COMMENT: SPEECH IS ONE OF CEAUSESCU'S MOST IMPORTANT IN SOME TIME AND IS REMARKABLY CANDID AND OUTSPOKEN. THERE IS LITTLE IN IT WHICH WILL PLEASE SOVIETS AND MUCH THAT WILL DISPLEASE THEM, ESPECIALLY THE SECTIONS ON INTER-PARTY RELATIONS, USE OF TERM "MARXIST-LENINIST", ECONOMIC FAILURES OF COMMUNIST COUNTRIES, AND NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE. INFLUENCE ON CEAUSESCU OF HIS RECENT MEETINGS WITH TOP EUROCOMMUNIST LEADERS (BUCHAREST 5384) IS EVIDENT.

15. MEETING WAS CLEARLY ARRANGED ON SHORT NOTICE, AND MANY OF THOSE ATTENDING WERE RECALLED PRECIPITOUSLY FROM VACATION. THERE WAS NO PREVIOUS HINT NOR THE USUAL RUMORS THAT SUCH A MEETING WAS IN THE WIND. TIMING PROBABLY RELATES TO CEAUSESCU'S APPARENTLY IMMINENT DEPARTURE FOR CRIMEA FOR TALKS WITH BREZHNEV (MOSCOW 18182) AND ARRIVAL IN MID-AUGUST OF HUA. AS INITIAL SPECULATION, WE ESTIMATE THAT CEAUSESCU FELT THAT PRIOR TO THESE TALKS WAS AN APPROPRIATE TIME TO SET OUT PUBLICALLY, IN CLEAR TERMS, THE ROMANIAN POSITION ON A VARIETY OF PRESSING QUESTIONS, MANY OF WHICH HAD BEEN DISCUSSED PRIVATELY WITH HIGH-LEVEL

VISITORS. ADDITIONALLY, THERE MAY HAVE BEEN GENUINE CONFUSION
AMONG PARTY LOYALISTS AS TO OFFICIAL RCP LINE ON THESE
SUBJECTS. WE WILL REPORT FURTHER ONCE OUR SOURCES HAVE
HAD TIME TO DIGEST THIS MOST UNUSUAL AND SIGNIFICANT
SPEECH.
AGGREY

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